

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 EUR-08 CIAE-00 PM-03

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P R 241505Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0911

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0128

LIMDIS

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: CZECHOSLOVAK REP MAKES PITCH FOR TACNUC-  
GROUND FORCE MIXED PACKAGE REDUCTIONS

REF: A. MBFR VIENNA 0514; B. MBFR VIENNA 0434; C. MBFR  
VIENNA 0417 (ALL 1974)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DURING MARCH 20 DISCUSSION WITH  
US DELOFF, CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER STRESSED NEED FOR  
REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS

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IN MBFR, AND SUGGESTED A TACNUC/ASYMMETRICAL GROUND

FORCE MIXED PACKAGE ON REDUCTIONS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP ALSO INDICATED POSSIBLE READINESS FOR PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE AND DATA, ONCE WEST AGREED TO DISCUSS REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES IN ADDITION TO GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS. MEISNER'S PRESENT INTEREST IN NUCLEAR AND AIR REDUCTIONS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH HIS REMARKS TO US DELOFF, ON THREE PREVIOUS OCCASIONS LAST AUTUMN, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EAST MIGHT BE PREPARED TO DROP ITS DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR AND AIR REDUCTIONS TO ACCEPT A FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES. IT ALSO CONTRASTS WITH THE ABSENCE OF EMPHASIS ON NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS IN RECENT EASTERN STATEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON MARCH 20, US DELOFF (KAPLAN) AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER HAD BILATERAL DISCUSSION ON CURRENT MBFR ISSUES, AT MEISNER'S REQUEST. MEISNER INITIATED DISCUSSION BY REFERRING TO MARCH 17 NEWSWEEK "STRATEGIC BALANCE" CHART, WHICH ASCRIBES NUMERICAL ADVANTAGE TO WARSAW PACT AGAINST NATO IN GROUND FORCES MANPOWER (930,000 TO 780,000), TACTICAL AIRCRAFT (2,900 TO 2,700) AND TANKS (16,000 TO 6,000), BUT WHICH ALSO INDICATES NATO NUMERICAL ADVANTAGE OVER PACT IN TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS (7,000 TO 3,500). MEISNER SAID HE ASSUMED THESE LATTER NEWSWEEK FIGURES RELATED TO "MISSILES."

3. US DELOFF ASKED WHETHER THE NEWSWEEK FIGURES ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND TANKS WERE CORRECT. MEISNER SAID EAST WAS NOT YET WILLING TO DISCUSS DATA, BUT THAT HE WAS READY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT EAST PROBABLY HAD NUMERICAL ADVANTAGES IN GROUND FORCES LOCATED IN REDUCTION AREA. IN COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THESE EASTERN ADVANTAGES SEVERAL TIMES, AND REPEATEDLY STATED THAT, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO "ASYMMETRICAL" REDUCTIONS IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. MEISNER INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT TALKING ONLY ABOUT EASTERN PROPOSED EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS, BUT RATHER ABOUT "GENUINELY ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS." WHEN ASKED IF EAST MIGHT EVENTUALLY

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ACCEPT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER COMMON CEILING, MEISNER SAID "THAT WOULD DEPEND ON HOW THE COMMON CEILING IS DEFINED AND ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LEDGER."

4. CZECHOSLOVAK REP SAID THAT ASYMMETRICAL EASTERN GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS, OR FOR THAT MATTER PROGRESS IN THE VIENNA TALKS, WOULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE IF THE WEST AGREED TO INCLUDE IN REDUCTIONS ALL TYPES OF

FORCES IN THE AREA EXCEPT THE NAVY. IN PARTICULAR, THIS MEANT NUCLEAR FORCES AND AIR FORCES, INCLUDING AIRCRAFT. REFERRING AGAIN TO NEWSWEEK CHART, MEISNER SAID EAST HAD ADVANTAGE IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER BUT WEST HAD LARGE ADVANTAGE IN TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE SAID CHART APPARENTLY REFERRED TO "MISSILES, LIKE PERSHING'S." HE SAID THESE DIFFERENT DISPARITIES COULD FORM BASIS OF "A MIXED PACKAGE."

5. MEISNER SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALL GROUND AND AIR FORCE ARMAMENTS BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. TACTICAL AIRCRAFT WERE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE. WHILE THE EAST HAD "MODES" NUMERICAL ADVANTAGE IN TACTICAL AIRCRAFT IN THE AREA, THE WEST HAD SIGNIFICANT QUALITATIVE SUPERIORITY. IT THUS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO TAKE "COMBAT CAPABILITY" FULLY INTO ACCOUNT.

6. WHEN ASKED IF THE EAST WAS READY TO AGREE TO MITIGATION OF ITS LARGE ADVANTAGE IN MAIN BATTLE TANKS IN THE AREA, MEISNER SAID ALL ARMAMENTS MUST BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. THAT COULD INCLUDE TANKS, AS PART OF "A MIXED PACKAGE."

7. THROUGHOUT THE REMAINDER OF THE DISCUSSION, MEISNER REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR REDUCTION OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MISSILES AND TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. HE SAID CSCE DEALT WITH CBM'S, SALT WITH STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS, AND, UNDER THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS, MBFR WITH CONVENTIONAL GROUND FORCES. CZECH REP ASKED RHETORICALLY: "WHERE DO WE DEAL WITH TACNUCS?" WHEN US DELOFF INQUIRED REGARDING SOVIET IRBM/MRBM'S IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA, MEISNER  
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ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS CREATED A PROBLEM. HE DID NOT SPECIFY WHETHER OR NOT HE WAS REFERRING ONLY TO THOSE TACNUCS IN THE NGA.

8. US DELOFF REPLIED TO CZECHOSLOVAK REP'S REPEATED DEMANDS FOR AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCE REDUCTIONS BY REVIEWING THE REASONS WHY THE WEST REMAINED OPPOSED TO THE INCLUSION OF SUCH FORCES, BY REPEATING ARGUMENTS FOR FOCUSING ON GROUND FORCES, BY NOTING THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF EASTERN FLEXIBILITY TO DATE IN THE VIENNA TALKS AND BY REITERATING WESTERN PROPOSALS TO DISCUSS GROUND FORCE DATA PARALLEL TO THE BASIC ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE. MEISNER SAID NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED AT SOME POINT IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY PROGRESS.

HE SAID HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD HEPPEN "EITHER BEFORE  
OR AFTER CONCLUSION OF SALT TWO, AND PROBABLY WHEN  
BREZHNEV TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FORD."

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 EUR-08 CIAE-00 PM-03

INR-05 DODE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 /046 W  
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P R 241505Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0912

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0128

LIMDIS

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE AND DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

9. MEISNER EXPRESSED SOME INTEREST IN WESTERN  
SUGGESTIONS THAT DATA BE DISCUSSED IN PARALLEL WITH  
ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE. HOWEVER, HE SAID THE WEST FIRST  
SHOULD AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT ALL FORCES IN THE AREA  
(EXCEPT THE NAVY) WOULD BE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS.  
THEN, DATA AS WELL AS "SUBSTANTIVE DETAILS" OF  
THE MAIN ISSUES COULD BE DISCUSSED IN PARALLEL.

10. MEISNER REFERRED BRIEFLY TO THE NECESSITY FOR REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET BY THE BUNDESWEHR AND BY OTHER WEST EUROPEAN FORCES. HE STATED THAT ALL  
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DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET CONCERNING THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF REDUCTIONS. US DELOFF REPEATED THE WESTERN POSITION ON PHASING AND STRONGLY OBJECTED TO NATIONAL CEILINGS. MEISNER REPLIED THAT "SOME INDIRECT WAY" COULD BE FOUND TO DEAL WITH THE NATIONAL CEILING ISSUE LATER IF WEST NOW WERE TO AGREE TO NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCE REDUCTIONS.

11. MEISNER MADE NO EFFORT TO PUSH THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL. HE DID NOT OBJECT TO US DELOFF'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE FEB. 25 EASTERN PROPOSAL AS "A SIDEWAYS STEP." HE COMMENTED THAT BOTH SIDES NEEDED SOME WAY TO MARK TIME.

12. MEISNER INDICATED THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO HEAD THE CZECH DELEGATION UNTIL AUTUMN, 1975, AT WHICH TIME LAHODA WOULD RETURN, AND HE PROBABLY WOULD BE REASSIGNED.

13. COMMENT: MEISNER'S STRONG EMPHASIS IN THIS DISCUSSION ON NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCE REDUCTIONS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH HIS OWN POINTED REMARKS TO US DELOFF, ON THREE PREVIOUS OCCASIONS IN THE AUTUMN ROUND (REFTELS), TO THE EFFECT THAT THE EAST MIGHT BE PREPARED TO DROP ITS DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCE REDUCTIONS AND TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES. IT ALSO CONTRASTS WITH THE ABSENCE OF STRESS IN RECENT EASTERN STATEMENTS ON REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. END COMMENT.RESOR

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## Message Attributes

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